root of this plant, and the wounds which they give are incurable unleſs the poiſon be ſucked out. This is certainly the only method, and, if this be neglected, the wound immediately turns blue and ſwells, and in two days the patient dies. The very largeſt whales when they have received a ſlight wound from ſuch a poiſoned weapon, cannot bear the ſea for any conſiderable time; but throwing themſelves upon the ſhore, expire moſt miſerably, with terrible groans and bellowing.

The following are very ſerviceable for cloathing, and other houſehold purpoſes.

There grows upon the ſea-ſhore a whitiſh high plant, reſembling wheat. I have ſeen it at *Strelinimuiſe*, the palace below *St. Peterſbourg*, upon ſandy ground. Of this they make mats, which ſerve them as coverings and curtains; the beſt of theſe are made of different colours, with the beards of the whales ſplit very ſmall and dyed. They alſo make clokes of it, like the old *Ruſſian* milled clokes, ſmooth within, and rough without, which makes the rain run more eaſily off them. The prettieſt of this kind of work is their little bags and baſkets, in which the women keep their trinkets. Theſe are ſo neat, that one would take them to be made of ſplit canes; and they are ornamented with the hair of whales' beards and horſe-hair, dyed of different colours. When this plant is green they make large bags of it to contain their fiſh or different herbs and roots, which they provide againſt the winter: beſides it ſerves alſo to thatch their houſes or huts. They mow it with a ſcythe, made out of the ſhoulder-blade of a whale; which they whet ſo well by grinding it upon a ſtone, that they bring it to a very good edge.

In the marſhes there is found a plant reſembling the cyperoides. This they dreſs with a double-toothed comb of bone, and uſe it to wrap their children in inſtead of ſhirts or ſwaddling cloaths, to keep them clean and ſweet. They alſo roll

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

224 177 several traps, which ſeize them ſometimes by the head, and ſometimes by the foot. The method of killing them with the bow is thus: the hunters muſt know exactly how high to place it; when the bow is bent, it is faſtened to a ſtake driven into the earth near which the fox's tract is obſerved, and then a cord drawn from the bow-ſtring, is ſtretched very tight over his ordinary path; and ſo ſoon as this cord is touched with the foot of the fox, the bow is diſcharged, and the arrow pierces the very heart. Theſe are the inventions of the *Ruſſian* Coſſacks; for formerly the *Kamtſchadales* gave themſelves no trouble about the foxes, not valuing their furrs much more than dogs' ſkins. They pretend they could have killed as many as they wanted with ſticks, and that foxes were formerly ſo numerous in *Kamtſchatka*, that when they fed their dogs, they were obliged to 136 224 drive them away from the trough: and though this may ſeem improbable, yet it is certain, that even now they are in great plenty near the forts, which at night they enter without any ſeeming apprehenſion of danger from the dogs of the country, which either cannot catch them, or, not being bred to it, do not mind them. It happened when I was there, that one of the inhabitants catched ſeveral of them in the pit where they keep their fiſh. The beſt time to hunt foxes is, when the earth is hard frozen, before the ſnow falls, as it is then difficult for them to dig out the rats' neſts, which they do when the earth is thawed, the rats 224 being their chief ſupport. The *Kuriles*, who live upon the 286 *Lopatka*, catch foxes in a manner peculiar to themſelves. They have a net made of the hair of whales' beards, compoſed of ſeveral rings; this is ſpread upon the ground, and to a ring in the middle they bind a magpye; round the net is drawn a cord, the ends of which are held by a perſon concealed in a pit near at hand, who, when the fox ſprings upon the bird, draws the cord and gathers together the net, which ſurrounds the fox as the drag net does a fiſh.

The

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

north to the Nalachevaya River in the south. The second included Itel'mens living from the Nalachevaya River to Cape Lopatka, as well as the "Near Kurilers." The third group consisted of the Itel'mens of the western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula (Sedanka-Khayryuzovo). The greatest differences were between the languages of the northern and southern groups. Of the dialects of the Itel'men language, only two have survived to our time—the Khayruyuzovo and the Sedanka, which were strongly affected by Koryak and Russian.

The question of the origin of the Itel'mens remains open. The archeological remains on the peninsula have not been studied sufficiently. They are represented by semiunderground dwellings, which hold large quantities of neolithic stone implements: arrowheads, spears, hatchets, scrapers, blubber lamps, well-made bone objects and fragments of pottery. These are very close to the Itel'men implements of the 17th and 18th centuries. Similar stone and bone objects were found by the first explorers of Kamchatka—S. Krasheninnikov (1737–1742) and G. Steller (1740–44).

The first ethnographic data about the Itel'mens were provided by V. Atlasov, who made a journey to Kamchatka from the Anadyr' Fort in 1697, with a detachment of Cossacks and Yukagirs. Atlasov followed the western coast, almost to the southern tip of the peninsula, and collected the first fur-tax from the Itel'mens. He found the Itel'mens at the height of the neolithic technique in making stone and bone implements. His "tales" (reports) abound in ethnographic materials. They provide fairly detailed descriptions of the material culture (villages, dwellings, clothing, methods of preparing food, etc.), the geographic distribution, and individual features of clan organization. Especially interesting are Atlasov's data on pottery-making, for only 40 years later, S. Krasheninnikov found no traces of this occupation among the Itel'mens.

Economy, Daily Life and Social Relations

Thanks to the remarkable work of Stepan Krasheninnikov, a participant in Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition, we have a detailed account of the material production and social order of the Itel'mens in the first half of the 18th century, when they still retained their original culture.

They were fishermen who lived in permanent settlements along rivers. Their largest concentration was in the basin of the Kamchatka River. The main fishing season was during the salmon-run, when the fish surged upstream in dense masses to spawn. They fished with nets and hooks.

Nets were woven of nettle fiber. Fish was cured, made into yukola, and pickled in pits. Fish-heads were always pickled; this was a favorite dish.

The second important occupation of the Itel'mens was hunting. Kamchatka at that time was very rich in meat and fur animals. But fur animals were also hunted primarily for meat, since there was no market for the furs. V. Atlasov reported that the Itel'mens mixed chopped sable tails with the clay when making clay utensils.

An important role in the Itel'men economy was played by sea hunting. They hunted seal, fur-seal, and sea-beaver. The southern Itel'mens also hunted whales with arrows poisoned with plant poison.

None of the northern Siberian peoples engaged as widely as the Itel'mens in gathering wild plants. Most important in their diet were the tubers of sarana (a local name for various members of the lily family), sweet grass stems, the leaves of arnica, various berries, cedar nuts, etc. Plant tubers were dug out with a special digging implement of deer horn, tied to a wooden

24: Lansdell-636 M-2 (1879) 1882 Kamchadal
116, 132, 137, 241, 286

" The valley watered by the Kamchatka is composed of fine mould, and has abundant natural productions- fir, birch, larch, poplar, willow, cedar, and juniper, and that of larger size than in the same latitude elsewhere in Asia. Raspberries, strawberries, whortleberries, currants, and cranberries abound; and flowers are seen in spring in almost tropical luxuriance. There is much grass in the lower lands, and Mr. Hill records an extraordinary phenomenon in a place he visited respecting the growth and preservation of potatoes. (1) There grows, likewise, a plant in the country called by

1. Admiral Ricord, a former governor of Kamchatka, imported potatoes for seed, and they were planted, but not taken up the following autumn. The next year, being found abundant and good, they were allowed to remain, where , dying and propagating continually, they yielded more than were locally required. Mr. Hill accounts for the phenomenon by the fact that neither damp nor frost could reach the potatoes; for though in winter the snow covers the surface of the frozen ground, yet so great in this vicinity is the internal volcanic heat that the earth is quite dry, and never frozen below a few inches from the surface.

the natives krapeva , from which they make a coarse but very durable cloth. It resembles our stinging -nettle, but is of larger growth and stronger fibre."